The Church Quarterly Review
October 1920.
166

Pam.
Africa
So.

Art. V.—SOUTH AFRICA AND THE NATIVES.

1. *Colour Problem in South Africa.* By W. C. Scully. 'Edinburgh Review.' July 1919.
2. *Ridge of White Waters,* and other works. By W. C. Scully.
3. *Native Life in South Africa.* By Sol. T. Plaatje. 1917.
4. *Some Legal Disabilities suffered by the Native Population.* By Sol. T. Plaatje. 1920.
5. *Mxamli the Feaster.* By the Rev. Godfrey Callaway, S.S.J.E. 1919.
6. *Education of the South African Native.* By C. T. Loram. 1917.
7. *Black and White in South-East Africa.* By Maurice Evans.
8. *Evolution of South African Native Policy.* By J. Y. Gibson. 1917.
9. *Africa Slave or Free?* By J. H. Harris. With a Preface by Sir S. Olivier.

Articles or Correspondence in the *Church Times, Commonwealth, Spectator, Nation, The Kingdom* (*Pretoria Diocesan Magazine*), *Church Chronicle* (*South African Provincial Magazine*), etc. 1919, 1920.

White South Africa for its treatment of the natives has of late been condemned from various quarters, and very severely: so severely that it seemed to me to pass just measure, and I and others have been hoping that someone well qualified would come forward to present the other side. For to damn us all black like this is not to give the whole truth of the case, and moreover it does harm where our judges presumably would do good.

Not for a moment would I claim that all is well with us, or that there are not just grounds for censure. In South Africa we have a native problem such as does not exist elsewhere in the British Empire. In Australia and Canada the Aborigines are few, and in India there is no question of white men effectively occupying the land. With us, the natives are five to one, and are increasing somewhat faster than the whites: not, indeed, much faster, for in recent years the rate of native as against European increase has been some fifteen compared with fourteen per thousand. Nor can all these be justly called original settlers; the Matabili for instance, in Rhodesia, are only conquerors of the last century. These natives are a multitude of tribes differing greatly in language, customs and capacity; Lieutenant-Governor Scott, in 1864, mentions sixty-five different tribes in Natal alone.[1] The whites, too, have been continually at strife among themselves, and it is only for the last ten years that we have had a united South Africa; though in fact, while Rhodesia remains apart, we are still disunited. When all such considerations are taken into account, perhaps a more merciful judgement becomes possible than some which I have read; and even a stern critic might reason that if a united England after centuries of rule has not yet wrought peace with a nation so near akin as the Irish, it might also happen that two jarring white peoples, within a century—or ten years, might not have been able to produce harmony in their relations with a medley of races so far asunder from themselves and from each other as we have in our huge rough territory.

Things, then, I frankly admit, are not right in some important respects. The state of the locations—the settlements in which natives live outside the towns—is often wretched. The Pass Laws stand in urgent need of simplification and reform. There has been, it is alleged, a serious increase latterly of cases of brutality, and even of murder, on the part of miners and farmers in the Free

[1] J. Y. Gibson, *Evolution of S.A. Native Policy*, 1919.

State and the Transvaal. I have been very unwilling to credit this. There has been, worst of all, a Land Act passed which has embittered native opinion far and wide.

On all these four heads I should like to say a word.

Yet, granting them all, I would still plead for reserve and moderation in the general count concerning South Africa, for they do not make the whole Bill. When attack becomes—as it sometimes threatens to do—indiscriminate, the results are most unfortunate. For one thing, we in South Africa, who mean to secure full justice for the natives, are much encouraged to have stout allies and supporters in England. But if these hear nothing but evil reports, they may be alienated and cast us out as reprobate. Repeat often enough 'South Africa is unrighteous,' and, for mere weariness, people will ostracize. Again, the general public in South Africa, if it looks somewhat askance at what men call a negrophile, is, on the whole, kindly disposed towards the natives and wishes them well. When it reads what seems unfair abuse, it laughs or swears and says 'Oh, John Harris again,' or 'Exeter Hall,' and becomes less friendly. Moreover, there is a strong body in South Africa which aims to break the British connexion, very much because it wishes to be free to deal with the natives without what it deems to be ignorant and sentimental interference. Many Boers cherish an old grievance. Piet Retief, before he led the Great Trek in 1837, protested that the Boers were being driven out through the 'unjustifiable odium which has been cast upon us by interested and dishonest persons, under cloak of religion, whose testimony is believed in England, to the exclusion of all evidence in our favour.' He was referring, of course, to the missionaries: Dr. Vanderkemp, Dr. Philip, and others. The protest has passed into the traditions of the Dutch race. Last year in a history examination in Government schools in the Transvaal, one question was: 'Give the causes of the Great Trek.' Nearly all the 2000 candidates gave as one cause: 'The slanders of the missionaries.' This means that there are many here who will welcome any overstatements, and will be glad to say to

their people 'See, it is the same as ever. Look how the English love to make the worst of us.' Lastly, and perhaps chief, as regards the natives themselves, the loyal and sober leaders among them want to be heartened up to persevere in the way of steady and constitutional advance. Naturally, they feel intensely all the grievances of their fellows; and it is good to remind them that much has been won, and that they are still winning. For there are, besides them, native leaders of a very different sort, most of them imported from abroad, who equally welcome all hostile witness. Their cry is: 'You will never get justice from the white man. Have we not told you? Here are these Englishmen who say the same. Unite the black people. Organize. Prepare.' Their meaning is clear enough; and if their voices prevail, then God help the natives and South Africa!

Therefore it is that I feel strongly that it is time the brighter side, the side of hope and good cheer, should also be put forward; the dark features of our conduct have been very amply stated these last months. For lack of some better advocate, I would ask to be allowed to mention some reasons why we and our friends in England need not despair. It is perhaps as well that I cannot speak as a missionary, for some missionaries feel the native disabilities as keenly as the natives themselves, and get sore or depressed. But I know many missionaries and understand their point of view, and in my eighteen years in South Africa as priest, and latterly as Bishop of the English Church, I have had opportunity to visit many parts of the country, and see something of missionary work in the Transvaal, Free State, Rhodesia, the Cape Province and Portuguese East Africa. I also lived a few years in an institution where natives were trained for catechists and clergy, and I helped to teach them. I have preached to natives often enough, and confirmed them, and I have met many native clergymen.

I desire to maintain, then, that in the last twenty-five years, the South African natives have made great progress, and that their just cause is making way against real

difficulties and much prejudice ; that we have solid ground for hope ; that we can point to substantial successes. And first it may be useful to consider that perplexing question of race-prejudice, race-consciousness, the pride of race.

II

The hard lot which befell the Native Delegation when embarking to return to South Africa may serve to introduce the subject. Mr. Sol. Plaatje and his companions—I think three but I did not see how many—were bundled unceremoniously off their ship without even time to get off their luggage. It was a wretched business, but perhaps most wretched in the folly of the thing. To put black men in a cabin over the heads of South African troops, crowded in steerage and hammocks, was to call for trouble. Many of these soldiers were Dutchmen of old family, to whom it would be a point of honour not to suffer such an indignity. ' Miserable race prejudice ! ' you say. Well, I am not sure what would happen on a liner filled with Yorkshire miners on strike, if some blacklegs were set in cabined comfort on the same. Or if German sailors were similarly enthroned in a vessel manned by the Seamen and Firemen's Union. ' No one would do a thing so silly,' you would say. That is it. There is such a thing as strong prejudice, and anyone who thinks it his duty to affront it should take care that the inevitable storm shall fall on his own head and not on the heads of four respectable black citizens of the British Empire. Whoever arranged that voyage had no sense.

That, then, is what we are up against—violent race prejudice in a considerable section of our people. If you know South African history, you will not, perhaps, excuse it, but you will understand it. For one thing, it is an inheritance from old days when respect for black folk was small, when English, Dutch and Spaniards were slave-owners. And observe that in nearly all lands, except Brazil and Russia and there very late, emancipation was effected from without, and not by those in immediate contact with the servile people. But there has been not

only slavery but war. One of our public holidays is 'Dingaan's Day,' which commemorates the defeat of that Zulu King, after his treacherous massacre of Piet Retief and his comrades. It is kept alive in popular memory, too, by a magnificent film called 'The Vortrekkers,' which shews thousands of natives in assault on the famous laager, Not only Dutch but old English families of settlers have their traditions of blood and feud with savage enemies. It cannot be expected that that feeling will die away more lightly than such memories did on the Scottish Border or among the Highland clans or on the American frontiers. And here is no ancient history. I have conversed with men who fought in Kaffir wars, or chased the Bushmen raiding cattle almost in sight of Maritzburg. These latter, on being overtaken, would always hamstring the cattle, a grievous thought to a farmer. It is not long since the Zulu impis were a menace to both the Transvaal and Natal. I have myself seen the volunteers mustering in the streets of Johannesburg about to march to attack the Zulu insurgents in 1906. Nor is it only the clash of nations. The close daily intercourse breeds friction. Here in the paper is the case of two Europeans in Durban rebuking—I expect not gently—a native for taking the wrong seat in a tram. The native stabbed them both and disappeared. And there is the 'black peril.' In native territories our missionaries fearlessly leave their wives and children unprotected, but on the Rand there are not infrequent cases of outrage or attempted outrage on white women by debased black ruffians. And withal there is fear, for the natives are five to one. Yet not, I think, so much fear of violence, for the armed and disciplined whites could probably hold their own in a fight; but fear of industrial competition; fear of miscegenation, which fear the better natives share; above all fear of the claim to race equality. And so we come to that root question of race-consciousness —the pride of race.

Pride of race—it is so insistent here that one is forced to consider it, and to try to think what is its good and what its evil. For the Dutch have it, and shew it, towards the

British ; and the British towards the Dutch ; and both towards the native. And the natives have it towards natives. Let a Zulu think you take him for a Shangaan ; or a Matabili for a Mashona, and see the result ! What are we to say ?

Is the white man's race-consciousness, his sense of race-superiority and dignity altogether evil ? Myself I believe it is one great Hope for the natives—on two conditions : first, that it be based on true worth and values ; and, second, that it be used to lift the native up and not to keep him down. I need not say that often enough neither of these conditions is fulfilled ; but just that is the cause which we have in hand.

What I mean is this. If the native is to rise, he must want to rise. Not Divine Grace itself can save without human effort. But multitudes of the natives have no desire to rise. A devoted missionary from the Transkei was telling me how heart-breaking it is to turn out with infinite pains a young native as a skilled carpenter, and then see him settle down in his kraal and never touch a tool again. The fault is not all on the side of the white man oppressing black. It is partly at least that so many natives are content to live on a handful of mealies and some milk from their cows, without interest or ambition mental or spiritual except the acquisition of cattle which they will neither kill nor sell, and of another wife or two.

I saw indeed the question in a magazine whether the South African natives were not after all happier in their savage state. Even if that were the question I should say, read again the story of Chaka's wars costing it is reckoned a million lives, with the headlong flight of the tribes and the awful misery that ensued—one of Mr. Scully's books *The Ridge of White Waters* tells how some turned cannibal ; or read such a book as Wessmann's *Bawanda of the Spelonken*, or the story of the self-destruction of the powerful Gcaleka tribe in Father Callaway's *Mxamli* (1919), or indeed read or hear almost any intimate account of savage life in South Africa. I cannot think it could be called happy ; but were it happier than it is, I do not think that happiness yet awhile

is the same as the good life. I do not think man was put into this world to enjoy himself; but to subdue the earth, and to make himself, physically, mentally, morally in the struggle, the while learning the lesson of ever wider co-operation, and of love for his kind, and so to rise up in the knowledge of God to become indeed godlike. If that be the goal—soul-making, some call it—then the easy-going, lethargic native requires furious stimulus. For he, like all savages, has surrendered in the fight with nature.

Now, leaving out for the moment a certain mighty Leaven and Dynamite, the presence and power of the white man is a tremendous lever. The progressive educated natives, as eager as we are to see their people mount in the scale of humanity, recognize this fully and therefore rather surprisingly oppose with all their might the policy of segregation. Many well-wishers think that if the natives were undisturbed in sufficient areas apart they would produce, if more slowly, their own civilization. The wise old king Khama holds this with regard to his Bechuanas: 'My people learn slowly; they must not be hurried,' he said to Lord Selborne. But these other natives say 'No, we must have the pressure of the unresting white man to force into our people a higher ideal of life.' And Khama himself has adopted the white man's religion and encourages it.

Such native leaders look up to the white man, and so do most natives and rightly, for the white race has been advancing for centuries while the black has not. The white man is superior; and to hold himself such is only to be true to the fact. And that he should do so is good for the natives, for then they will copy and learn and emulate. The white man who throws away his birthright as some do, and marries a native woman, or lives with one, lowers himself and breeds a lower race. Without their religion and their pride of race the Boers would now be brown, living in round huts and drinking Kaffir beer and 'smelling out' for witchcraft.

I would not abate this pride of race, but I would desire to teach its obligations. And I would wish to maintain and strengthen the solid justification for it, and to prevent it from turning to race arrogance, race prejudice, race anti-

pathy, race scorn. The serious and practical questions are, how this is to be done ; and how far in fact the baser instincts are prevalent.

I will just remark one cheerful feature. To dwell among inferior peoples does no doubt carry heavy temptations, but I am sure they have not too sorely demoralized our white South Africans. It was remarkable how in the war our young men were sought for as officers. Besides our own regiments and brigades in German West and East Africa, in France and Palestine, some ten thousand South Africans, we were told officially, became officers in Imperial regiments. 'I have met plenty of them,' a colonel, an Englishman, said to me, 'and not one dud among them.' One Church school, 'Bishops,' had 800 old boys serving, of whom 500 were made officers, most of them Imperial officers. It seems as if there were some capacity for leadership, and if there is, would this be unconnected with the fact that most of these lads had from childhood breathed an atmosphere of command ? At the same time I should say that South African boys, and I have had hundreds in my charge at the time when I was Headmaster of St. John's College in Johannesburg, are more obedient than English boys ; and University professors have said that our students are more amenable. Not that they are muffs—they sent across a football team that beat England, Scotland, Ireland and Wales. They have just won the King's Prize, the St. George's Vase, and the Kolapore Cup at Bisley, and the Lawn Tennis Championship and the quarter-mile and other points at Antwerp. Very warm accounts were sent us from England of the conduct of our wounded in Hospital. In Egypt our soldiers were rather laughed at by the Australians 'for pretending to be Regulars.' May it not be that South Africans have early to learn the idea of government ? 'Splendid material,' the headmistress of a great school here answered when I asked about her girls. I think it is generally true ; but I will not deny that some South Africans are harsh and overbearing, and that a good many are most fierce about race superiority who are least superior.

'The White Man's Burden' is a poem which puts un-

theologically part of what Scripture calls Election. The reasons of Election remain mysterious, but the fact and the privileges and responsibilities attaching to it are, I believe, as operative to-day as in the days of Abraham. The trouble of it in South Africa is that some religious folk in their reading of Scripture do not seem to get as far as Abraham, but stop short at Shem, Ham and Japheth.

III

But now, in the second place, what grounds have we for hope? It is wrong to be foolishly optimistic, and there are plenty who will rescue us from that mistake. But it is worse to be pessimistic. There are three reasons for hope as I conceive.

One is the Government itself—at least until the Nationalists come into power. In the last elections these have made a formidable advance, and now outnumber the Government party, the South African party, by forty-four to forty. The Nationalists resent the British attitude towards the native question; and the Free Staters, who to a man are nationalists, were instrumental in securing the insertion of the hardest provisions in the 1913 Land Act.[1] I trust the South African party may be able to carry on. It is Dutch, conservative, and not given to rash enthusiasms in native affairs; it has been hard pushed at times by reactionary supporters, as an English Government may be by liquor or other powerful interests. But on the whole I think it has meant well to natives and tried to be fair. Else, why should it appoint as Secretary for native affairs such a man as the late Mr. Moffat, grandson of the famous missionary, and a full inheritor of his zeal for native betterment? And how is it that we have such a splendid set of men, also appointed by government, and all, as Mr. Beyers recently complained in the Cape Parliament, British, as native commissioners and magistrates? Native education throughout the Union is left in the

[1] See, however, Postscript, p. 104.

hands of the missionaries, and though the grants in three provinces are very small, they are improving, and the education departments are everywhere friendly and helpful.

In the Senate, our Upper House, office is held for ten years, and the Act of Union lays down that of the eight nominated members four

'shall be selected mainly on the ground of their thorough acquaintance, by reason of their official experience or otherwise, with the reasonable wants and wishes of the coloured races of South Africa.'

In the Transvaal the Native Affairs Department has appointed a special legal adviser whose business it is to assist natives in difficulties with their employers and the like.

On March 19 this year the Governor-General, in opening parliament, spoke thus:

'The development of the native races, and their increasing importance in the economic life of the Union, tend more and more to raise new questions of a complex character for the Government of the Union. My Ministers consider that the time has come to introduce reform in our system of native administration, which will include the establishment of a standing commission to advise and assist the Government on questions of native policy, as well as the creation of Advisory Councils in the large native areas which will help to keep the natives in touch with the administration of the country.'

Here are two most important proposals which agree with what friends of the natives have been advocating. They are very close to what Bishop Furse of Pretoria asked for in an 'Open Letter to General Smuts,' published on March 18.

'The appointment of, say, three men as Native Commissioners for the Union,' and 'the establishment in every Province of the Union of one or more Native Advisory Councils, elected by the natives themselves and not nominated merely by the chiefs.'

Lastly, for some British readers, one reminder may be important. Cape Colony, or the Cape Province, as it

is now called, has half the population and more than half the area of the whole Union. In the Cape the laws of passes, pavements and land tenure (the last, except as against white men) do not apply. 'Equal rights for all civilized men' was Cecil Rhodes' motto, and it obtains. 'Coloured' men, i.e. of mixed race, and natives have here the parliamentary, provincial and municipal franchise, subject to the same low qualification of income or property and education as is required in the case of Europeans. It may be that attempts will be made to abolish this Cape privilege, but it is specially protected in the Act of Union, so that it cannot be taken away or diminished except with the sanction of a two-thirds majority of both Houses of Parliament sitting together; and as the Cape has 51 out of 134 in the Lower House, perhaps the position is secure. Besides which, any bill affecting this question is required to be 'reserved' by the Governor-General for signification of the King's pleasure.

Mr. Harris of the Aborigines Protection Society, who in his *South Africa, Slave or Free* is able to solve off-hand all our problems of polygamy, land tenure, drink, and Indian immigration, here lays down that a qualification of property, education, and freedom from criminal conviction must suffice to give the franchise to all in the Union without regard to race or colour. But any hasty extension would do mischief, for the objection in the Cape even now is that the standard is so low. The charge is that big employers see to it that their men can write their name and address and occupation—which is all that is required by way of educational test—and that then these vote as they are told, without knowing what about. Any large spread of such an electorate would afford just the handle wanted by opponents for overthrowing the whole system.

However, in general, though I confess to being innocent enough in politics, which is a deep game, it seems to me to be only common sense in any government to prefer to have a vast native population peaceful and contented rather than brooding sullenly over wrongs, or dangerously mutinous.

A second hope is in the natives themselves. They are getting to help themselves. They are no longer inarticulate, for they have their own newspapers, which are as free as the rest of the press, and which do speak their mind on burning questions with all candour. These have not yet the influence of the European press, because their reading public is limited, and because some of them are extreme beyond sober native opinion. Then they have their educated leaders and spokesmen, such as Mr. Sol. Plaatje, who is also Editor of *The People's Friend* at Kimberley. They are slowly passing men into the professions: they have some doctors, and in Johannesburg there are native solicitors, who take up disputes with employers and the like, and they have a name for being straight and honest. In the Transkei natives sit on district councils which administer a good share of the taxes. There are native political organizations, and there is the South African Native Congress which draws members from all parts of the country and meets annually. This Congress did much to unite and utter the righteous indignation of the natives at the harsh clauses of the Land Act of 1913, and it was responsible for sending the native deputation to England to protest to the Imperial Government and Parliament and the British public against this law. Natives are learning to take common action. A few months ago they arranged to make a joint demonstration against the Pass Law. Up and down the Rand native leaders stopped all natives and asked for their passes. These they deposited in sacks with which they went to the Pass Offices. They handed them in and said they had come to be arrested, as of course they were, and were marched off in procession to prison. The proceedings went quietly, except in Johannesburg itself, where it led to rioting and shooting. This, however, was due a good deal to the stupidity of the police, which from being an excellent force has become much less efficient owing to the Dutch cry that the Government shall find employment for the ' poor whites ' ; for this has filled the ranks with the most ignorant and race-prejudiced of the Dutch population. (The native women in the Free State, it should be said, had

already made their protest and had gone to prison in droves and suffered severe privations.) After a time the culprits were released on their undertaking to resume their passes. But this action no doubt helped to bring about the appointment of the Departmental Committee which is now sitting and taking evidence on the whole Pass question.

On top of all there has been the war. Hundreds of the ' coloured ' have been fighting in German East and in Palestine, and have won high praise from their white officers for bravery and discipline. Thousands of coloured men and natives served in ' Labour Corps ' in France, and have been warmly commended. Even a hard-hearted white must have been touched on hearing how the natives recruited for the Native Labour Corps and waiting in Maitland Camp were told frankly by the Government that the transport *Mendi* with 600 of their comrades had been sunk in the English Channel, and were offered a return journey to their homes,—and not one of them accepted. I, for one, thought that that disaster, to men for whom the far journey of itself was full of terrors, meant the end of the ' Labour Corps.'

The native has progressed greatly. Mr. Loram (*Education of the South African Native*, 1917, our best authority) bids the ' Repressionists,' as he calls them, take note that ' contact with the white *has* educated the native.'

The third hope is in a really strong body of white support. It is a mistake to think of White South Africa as hating Black. One of our best-informed writers, Mr. Maurice Evans, asserts that feeling is not as in the Southern States of America, which he has also visited and studied. In Chapter viii of his *Black and White in the Southern States* (1915), a sequel to his *Black and White in South-East Africa* (*i.e.* Natal), he writes :

' We have race prejudice and to spare in South Africa. My impression, however, is that we are more tolerant and well-disposed towards the native, as we are certainly more law-respecting in our relations to him, than are the people of the South ' (of the U.S.A.).

When the Land Bill of 1913 was introduced in Parliament the whole of the Unionist Party, which stands for the Empire ideal, and also the Labour Party, as Plaatje freely admits in his book, shewed themselves favourable to the natives. They opposed features which seemed likely to be oppressive, and helped to secure that the measure, which was intended to be permanent, should be in effect provisional, to be revised when the Commission on Native Areas had reported. They attempted indeed to make it operative for two years only, but were defeated.

'House-boys' are, as a rule, well paid and well treated, and are happy. White artizans and miners in general get on well with their native assistants, and are often very fond of them. Boer farmers, too, can be generous. It was possible for Mr. Burton, now a leader in the Smuts Ministry, when standing a few years ago for election at Burgersdorp, a regular Dutch farming constituency, to charge his audience 'not to forget that the Blacks are the original Afrikanders. We found them in this country, and no policy can possibly succeed which aims at the promotion of the interests of one section of the Afrikander race to the neglect of another section,' and then to be returned head of the poll.[1]

The Free State farmers are the most unfriendly to native aspirations, but even as regards the Free State Plaatje can refer[2] to 'the good-humoured indulgence of some English and Dutch farmers towards their native squatters, and the affectionate loyalty of some of these squatters in return.' 'An observer,' he says, 'would be lost in admiration for this good feeling.' He is referring, however, to a state of things which the 1913 Act has in great measure swept away. Cases of rough, sometimes even brutal, treatment there are, no doubt, but on any number of farms there is the sort of familiarity which subsists between an English farmer and his labourers. Certain forms of respect are insisted on, and are readily rendered, for the native is used to reverence and submission to a despotic chief; but that done, things go easily. Indeed,

[1] Plaatje, *Native Life in South Africa*, c. ix (King and Son, 5*s*.).
[2] C. i.

friends tell me that many natives prefer a Dutch master, for though the English farmer is careful about paying his men, and some Boers are not, yet the English farmer always exacts the work set, and the Dutchman is more casual. As to the great mining centres, the Kimberley diamond mines, enclosed though they are, are popular with the natives. On the gold mines there was, till lately, before white agitators began, and before English miners were replaced by a rough class of young Dutchmen, good temper and kindly feeling. I have watched, with a few whites, thousands of mine natives working themselves up to wild excitement in a war dance, and none of us felt any anxiety. Missionaries are backed and abetted by the mine authorities, and the officials give them free access to the compounds. Our Lebombo diocese was started by natives themselves, who became Christians on the Rand gold mines.

Very valuable in the day of battle are the organized white societies in Durban, Pretoria, and elsewhere, which keenly study native questions and do their best to get fair play.

Striking evidence of goodwill was shewn in the magnificent service rendered by the Whites to the natives and 'coloured' in the terrible influenza epidemic of 1918, which carried off many thousands. In Kimberley, Bloemfontein, Johannesburg, Salisbury and many other places, white men and women gave their time and money without stint, and some their life also, to rescue these weaker folk. In Capetown I was full of admiration, for it was a glorious and truly Christian rally. Business and professional men, university students of both sexes, Boy Scouts, visiting every house, driving their motor-cars all day long, ladies serving soup at the depots, doctors working from morning to night for no pay, often when ill themselves. The colonel in charge of the influenza camp at Salisbury in Rhodesia mentioned a remark of a young officer, which, as he said, meant a good deal from a Dutch South African. He was thanking this young man for his devoted service to the sick natives, and the reply was: 'After what I have seen

these fellows doing in the war, and after what they have done for me, I would do anything for them.' An earlier example of self-sacrificing toil for the natives' benefit may be read in Mr. W. S. Scully's account (*Further Reminiscences of a South African Pioneer*) of his desperate endeavours to save their cattle in the Rinderpest. The whole object of the Gcaleka self-ruin, above mentioned and earlier still, had been to excite the tribe to slaughter the white men. When the attempt failed, white relief poured forth to succour the starving multitudes.

IV

But yet again, in the third place, if we have such grounds of hope, does all remain only hope, or have we any tangible fruit and success to exhibit? I think we could name four instances to shew, not that we have won—the struggle is hard still—but that we are winning.

The Native Delegation came to England to get the Land Act of 1913 disallowed. For by the Act of Union it is provided that 'the King may disallow any law within one year after it has been assented to by the Governor-General.' The case as fully presented from the native point of view will be found in Mr. Sol. Plaatje's book already mentioned. I must not attempt to enter into the merits of that Act. It is said to have been an honest effort to carry out the policy of segregation of the races to which I have already alluded as being favoured by many friends of the natives. Small native farming areas amongst white farms led to trouble on both sides. The tenancy system of 'Squatting' and of 'Sowing on Shares' was said to be demoralizing white farmers and to be holding back agriculture. Anyhow the result of this new Act has been intolerable hardship to the natives, and has done more to provoke native feeling, even among those not directly affected, than anything done in recent years. For the Act was to have two parts: the first was to make provision for sufficient native areas; the second was to stop the purchase and new hire of land in white areas. The second

part was passed; for the first, a commission was appointed to report within two years. What happened in fact was that large numbers of natives were driven off the farms on which they had been settled, and the already scheduled reserves were not ample enough to receive them. They were obliged to sell their cattle and return to the farms, no longer as tenants but as labourers. The harsher clauses of the measure are to be ascribed to the Free State farmers, at that time Botha's restive and uncertain supporters. Since then they have come out under General Hertzog as the nationalist party. I believe there has been some alleviation, partly by evasion, partly because some sale of land can take place by special permission of the Governor-General. Above all, the judges have ruled that the Act is not of force in the Cape Province.

In 1917 the Delimitation Commission reported. It was found that in the Bill prepared in consequence, not enough land was set aside for native occupation in the Transvaal, and the opposition which was aroused caused Botha to drop the Bill. So far as that goes, the native side had a success; but meanwhile the 1913 Land Act stands. It is one of the cases where we have not won.

Once more, in 1918 a Select Committee of the House of Assembly, commonly known as the Rooth Committee, reported in favour of opening government canteens for the sale of 'beer and light wines' to the natives on the Rand. The law at present is total prohibition to natives. The plea for change was that the law could not be carried out, that 'illicit liquor selling' was rife, and that the law was only manufacturing white criminals.

To most of our friends it seemed to be party politics again and a sop to the powerful wine farmers of the Cape. For there can be no doubt or question as to the reduction of drunkenness on the mines which followed on prohibition. It used to be atrocious. Old mine managers have assured me—I was fourteen years in Johannesburg—that they reckoned to have half their mine boys incapable all Monday. Then the natives, except some from Portuguese territory, do not drink our beer or wine; and their own beer of moderate

strength is allowed and served out regularly as rations. The great majority of the native commissioners and magistrates were against the proposal, and so were the native chiefs, and nearly all the compound managers, and these are in closest touch with the mine boys. Our forces rallied; every Christian body and all temperance societies passed adverse resolutions. Notably the Dutch Reformed Church did signal service. It cost more to them than to others, for the wine farmers are their people; but the Predikants ranged themselves whole-heartedly on our side, and that probably decided it. The Rooth proposal fell lower and lower in the parliamentary list, and we are told it may be considered dead.

Then there is the Pass Law. In some respects all is not so bad as might appear to an English audience. Mr. Plaatje told a meeting in London that a native cannot change his employment without his master's written consent. Mr. Plaatje was referring, I think, to some farming districts. In practice, certainly as to house-boys let any English reader come out to South Africa and try to refuse his consent when his native servant comes and signifies his desire to leave at the end of the month. You may press him, and coax him, you may offer higher wages: you may drive him before the end of the interview to kill his wife and his mother, to smite his children with diseases, to lose his cattle on the mountains, to burn down his kraal —for he is usually polite and wants to spare your feelings —but he is also firm; and what is certain is that he will leave at the end of the month.

Engagements are monthly, and any native can leave at the end of the month, except for special contracts as on the mines, which are usually for six or nine months. At the end of this contract the mine boy always returns home, to the Transkei, or wherever it may be:—a habit to which Mr. Scully in his *Ridge of White Waters* attributes the comparative immunity of the natives from 'miners' phthisis.' He recommends the same course to white miners; but it was the constant interruptions which contributed very much to the introduction of Chinese

labour. An official circular this January reminds people in general that with the demand for native labour on railways, mines, farms, and in domestic service, there is not nearly enough to go round: and tells them plainly that the time has come when they will have to compete for it with good terms of pay, food and housing. A South African gentleman wrote last November to the *Spectator* to say the same thing, that the native now has the whip hand, and that in consequence his condition is steadily improving. Long ago it had come to pass that the mines could not keep up their supply of cheap labour without importing from outside the Union.

However, to return to the Passes. It is the old Dutch law; and it was a great grievance to the old inhabitants when the Acting Governor, General Bourke, abolished it along with the Apprenticeship Laws in 1828. It is another of the charges in Piet Retief's manifesto before his trek, that the Hottentots had been turned thereby into tramps and vagabonds. The Boer settlers carried the Pass system with them into the Free State and the Transvaal, so that no native could leave his village or farm without a pass. Since then the constant travelling of natives to get employment in domestic service or on the mines has confirmed the practice. In Johannesburg alone there are some 300,000 natives, nearly all away from their homes in Basutoland, Portuguese East and so on, and it is found necessary to keep trace of them even for their own sake. Then, though the vast majority are wonderfully law-abiding there are some criminals among them. With these armies of wild men away from married life there are, as I have said, cases of attempted outrage on white women; and from time to time 'Ninevite' or 'Amalita' gangs have terrorized some neighbourhoods. The police, in their evidence before the now-sitting committee, urged that it would be impossible to carry on without some means of registration and identification. In the natives' interest there is also to be said that it is a protection, in that on the pass must be written down and signed the terms of service and wages, which is a check on an unscrupulous

employer. Moreover, an educated and high-class native can get an 'Exemption' which delivers him from the ordinary pass regulations. So that I know few even among missionaries and friends of the natives who think it possible, under present circumstances, to get rid of passes altogether. 'A necessary evil' Mr. Howard Pim, a well-known sympathizer, called it the other day in speaking to the Pass Law Committee.

But all said and done, the present system, especially when administered by ignorant native or prejudiced rough police, is a horrible nuisance. As the Rev. Francis Hill, head of our missions in the Transvaal, told the Commission, innocent natives get into prison for having left their pass in some other pocket; Transvaal native chiefs complained that they could not even attend a funeral without long delay; the exemption itself may be turned into a means of petty tyranny by a malicious policeman. The enforcing of passes on native women in the Free State is very disagreeable and leads to bad abuses. The whole thing wants overhauling and simplifying, as Lord Selborne years ago inserted in his farewell address; and the repeated remonstrances, crowned, as I have described, by the action of the natives themselves, have at last produced this committee, which we hope will work out some scheme far less complicated and vexatious. But that the committee should be appointed, and that native advice should be sought, marks a step forward.

In government care for native education, improvement is discernible, though in three of the four provinces it is still small mercies for which we must be thankful. The Cape Province here, too, stands apart. There, according to Loram, in 1912 the revenue from native sources was £304,000, the expenditure on native education was £83,000. This is one item of what is spent for native benefit, without counting roads, police, medical service and the rest. In the Transkei, with approaching a million natives, there are native councils which to a large extent manage and administer the taxation. In the other provinces the proportion of native taxes spent on native education is a

scandal. For the Transvaal Loram's figures for 1914 are £14,000 out of a native revenue of £453,000. Yet even here there is sign of grace. I remember our Bishop in the Pretoria Synod some time before 1908 reproaching the government with allotting as much to the Pretoria Zoo as to native education, namely £8000. To-day the government grant in the Transvaal is £25,000. Under the Transvaal Republic it was nothing at all. Happily for the natives, their education does not depend, except in the Cape, and never has depended, chiefly on government aid. And that leads on directly to what for me and for many is the heart of the matter and of our hope.

V

I am not writing a missionary paper, but it is impossible to pass over what South African statesmen, with one Government Commission after another, have recognized as a mighty factor in the native problem. Even the repressive measures and jealous attitude towards the native bear a hopeful interpretation. They mean that the native is awakening. Had the native been content to be for ever the humble labourer on the farms ; had his cattle not begun to multiply ; had he not begun to buy land in the Transvaal, it may be that Pharaoh would not have stirred, and that there would have been no Land Act. Had the native shewn no sign of using brain as well as thews and muscle, perhaps there would be no scare on the Rand about the ' Colour Bar.'

There is a force at work with a double efficacy. On the one hand it is rousing the native to bestir himself ; on the other, it is inclining the hearts of many whites—setting jealousy and fear, ill-memories and instinctive race animosities aside—to hold out to the native a lifting hand, or at least to follow after humanity and justice. I mean, of course, Christianity.

To the native, the mere contact with white civilization is a tremendous incentive to act and do. But this higher civilization, unless it have a strong admixture of Christianity

in it, may destroy, and not benefit the lower race. There is, I am convinced, a real and strong element of Christianity in our South African whites; but I want to speak briefly of direct religious agencies at work upon the natives. They are numerous—the French mission in Basutoland; the Roman Catholics there, and in Natal; the Presbyterians and their great college at Lovedale; the Baptists; the London Mission, and, largest of all, our own (the English Church), and the Wesleyans. The Dutch Reformed deserves a special word, because it is the strongest church in South Africa, and because, being the oldest here, with more memories than others of war and slavery, it has had the strongest prejudice to overcome. The Grondwet, or Constitution of the Transvaal Republic, forbade to natives equality in either State or Church, and the Dutch Church undertook no missionary work there but handed it over to the German Lutherans. Nor was there much done elsewhere. But in late years there has been a profound change of spirit, initiated by that man of God, Dr. Andrew Murray of Wellington, sometimes called the 'Father of the Dutch Reformed Church.' He and his brothers set a movement on foot through which now every congregation supports missions, and training colleges for missionaries have been founded, and more young men and young women offer themselves with them than in all the other Christian bodies put together. Their missions are mostly not in South Africa, but in Nyassaland and the Congo regions; but they also work in the Transvaal and have many 'sendlings' (missionaries) among the 'coloured' of the Cape.

Now all this service by every Christian society does and must have great influence on public opinion with regard to the natives. The most bigoted racialist who begins to take an interest in black men in Nyassaland will come in time to look with different eyes upon the black man within his gates. On this side too therefore Christianity gives us hope. A living Christian influence in white schools for boys and girls would be, I believe, a chief means of producing a right spirit towards natives. As it is, in our

Church Synods native clergy and native laymen sit and speak and vote on equal terms with white clergy and laymen, and many of these latter are leading citizens.

Of course, in South Africa as in India you meet many who sneer at missions, or abhor them. But these do not represent mature and informed South African judgement. There are so many testimonies to the contrary of men who matter. Mr. Saunders, C.M.G., Chief Magistrate in Zululand, said in 1900 : ' Most of what was being done for the elevation of the native people was being done by the missionaries.' Sir Walter Stanford, late Secretary to the Native Affairs Department of the Cape, who has lived from boyhood among natives, writes : ' There is a consensus of opinion among magistrates in the native territories and elsewhere that mission natives abstain, as a rule, from stock-stealing.' Lord Selborne, in his parting address in 1906, gave as his view that the missionaries ' should be regarded as the people who have saved the situation.' Lord Gladstone writes ' Convinced as I am of its devotion and wisdom, I have on many occasions borne testimony to the high value of missionary work in South Africa. It is the great instrument of progress in the minds and outlook of the natives.' Added to the testimony of the last two Governor-Generals is that of Lord Buxton who has constantly displayed his appreciation and goodwill. The missionary ' stands to the native,' says Maurice Evans, ' for all the help he may get to make his life cleaner, more moral, and more in keeping with the ideals of the white man at his best.' Loram notes that ' Without exception, the South African Commissions on native affairs and education recommended the use of missionary agencies in the uplifting of the native people.' He is by no means uncritical of missions, but he says (1917) :

' The history of native education in South Africa is the history of South African missions, for it is due entirely to the efforts of missionaries that the natives of South Africa have received any education at all ; and to this day all but three of the several thousand schools are conducted by missionary agencies.'

It is because I trust in this force most of all that I fear, more than white sneers, and more than hard laws, the native Nietzsches who are arising. These mere politicians without faith—often as I said imported—are proclaiming that Christianity is the white man's dodge to break their spirit and their manhood and their tribal loyalty. Let the old inhabitants of the land hold to their good old customs and their ancestral traditions. (Witchcraft, polygamy, despotism of chiefs, woman servitude, constant war—these would mean.) Politics, agitation, without moral or spiritual deliverance, shall be the African's salvation. I have read this kind of thing in native newspapers. These voices are not yet many, nor commanding, but they are disquieting.

VI

It is unprofitable to dwell on grievances which are comparatively slight, or are past remedy. Not much is gained by discussing whether or no self-government was given too soon to the annexed Republics, before the changes in method and spirit in native policy, which were being gently introduced under Crown rule, could have time to take root: and whether or no the speedy concession was due to a party's eagerness to remove from before its doors combustible material with which it had triumphantly fired Ucalegon's abode. Nor, I should say, is it vital whether or no in these regions natives can walk on the pavement. In the greater part of South Africa natives can walk on the pavement, if there is one, and if they prefer to do so. In very many South African towns there is no pavement, and where there is, it is generally pleasanter to walk on the road.

But there are ills which are remediable, and which cry aloud for redress. One is the state and management of the native locations outside the towns. It is true that in most of the larger ones we and other religious bodies have churches and schools with native clergy or catechists and teachers. Some towns too take a pride in their locations: such a one is Bloemfontein, and this year chief

Moroka of the Baralongs visited his tribesmen there and expressed to the town council his satisfaction with the conditions. But in others the administration is harsh, and the housing deplorable. The right-minded whites in each district should surely take more interest, and keep up continual protest. Yet much depends on the natives themselves, and as we have prizes for the best kept railway stations, could not municipalities have a state inspection of locations and offer rewards for the tidiest cottages and garden plots?

There will have to be renewed effort to secure just delimitation of native areas to complete the Land Act. Otherwise there will be no peace in the land. Furthermore to leave the question unsettled will lend overwhelming strength to the opposition against the surrender of the Crown Protectorates of Basutoland, Swaziland and Bechuanaland to the Union. For there is evidence that some influential Dutch opinion favours the cutting up of these territories also into farms for white people, and a similar reduction of the natives to the position of farm labourers.

What is intolerable and must be stopped is personal violence to natives. The August *Kingdom*, the Pretoria Diocesan magazine, speaks in the strongest terms of 'the continuous conviction of white miners for assaults, some of them of a specially brutal nature, on natives.' It is something to know that there are convictions. But these crimes are comparatively new, and are perhaps to be connected with the fact that large numbers of English miners went off to the war, giving place to the lowest class of young Dutchman. Decent Afrikanders (Dutchmen) resent such infamy as much as any, and the *Kingdom* prints the fierce protest of one of them who knows natives well and says it is 'a monstrous shame to treat in this way the best workers in the world.' The *Kingdom* itself adds 'Apart from their essential beastliness, these attacks lower the white population in the eyes of the native, and add fuel to the fire of race hatred which is already smouldering.'

Very grave too is the charge that murders of natives

by white farmers have been frequent of late in the Free State and the Transvaal. Miss Alice Werner, of South Africa, wrote to the *Spectator* last autumn to say that she had information of six such murders in the space of six weeks earlier in the same year, with no convictions; and she named the places. And there are rumours of shootings in and around Pretoria. I have been much inclined to discredit such statements, for certainly they have not been known to the general public, which whether British or Dutch would have demanded a full government inquiry and report. As it is, such open allegations can hardly be allowed to pass unchallenged. Granted that in some regions it is no more easy to get a jury to do justice as between white and black than it is to get an Irish jury to convict a Sinn Feiner of murder, yet South Africans in general, British and Afrikanders alike, believe that whatever a local jury may condone there is a God who sees and who avenges. In South Africa as in England and Ireland there are savage and lawless men. But most Boer farmers read their Bible and know that therein stands written—'Whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed.' 'For blood,' it is written in the book of Numbers xxxv 33, 'blood it defileth the land: and the land cannot be cleansed of the blood that is shed therein, but by the blood of him that shed it.'

J. O. Nash, C.R.
Coadjutor Bishop of Capetown.

Postscript.—The above paper was written in April in South Africa. Since then native affairs have marched, and I have made alterations. But on the voyage and during the Lambeth Conference and the Geneva Conference on Faith and Order I have not been able to keep up fully with what has been done. However, General Smuts has introduced the promised Native Affairs Bill. In his speech on the second reading, he explained that it is proposed to establish a commission of experts to advise the Minister of Native Affairs on the questions of—1. Segregation. 2. Education. 3. Town Locations. 4. Native Taxation. 5. Pass Laws. 6. Native Local Councils.

7. The calling of general native conferences. Amid applause he said :

> ' He was perfectly convinced that the white people meant to deal justly and fairly with the natives. He felt certain that there was no idea of the exploitation of the natives.' [1]

The Bill was well received, indeed it passed the second reading without division, and all South African papers I have seen were hearty in approval.

Not that the old intolerant spirit did not make its utterance. Mr. Van Hees (Nationalist) asserted that

> ' Native interests and European interests were irreconcileable. The idea of giving justice to the natives had never entered the head of white men except a few negrophilists. . . . Unfortunately, in the view of Mr. Van Hees, the policy of governing the natives purely in the white man's interest had not been carried out with the necessary thoroughness. This was owing to the weak sentimentality of the British element in the white population, and to the evil influence or supervision of foreign governments.' [2] [He would mean the British Government.]

Mr. Richard Feetham (Unionist) at once in the House warmly denounced this speech as ' brutal ' ; and later, on the third reading, General Smuts expressed his regret that Mr. Van Hees' speech had been reported all over the world as if he represented the views of the old Dutch population and of the Nationalist party. He felt sure that this was not so, and the leader of the Nationalists (General Hertzog) had clearly spoken in the opposite sense. He was able to say that already since the introduction of the Bill a better spirit was displaying itself among the natives. The third reading was carried by 97 to 16, the majority consisting of the Government, the Unionists, the Labour Party and the bulk of the Nationalists. The minority were all Nationalists of the stubborn die-hard sort.[3] This is thoroughly good news and I am most thankful that the Nationalists have belied my fears.[4] This Law may prove to be a veritable Magna Charta for the South African natives.

[1] *Rand Daily Mail,* May 27.
[2] *Ibid.* May 28.
[3] *Eastern Province Herald,* July 14.
[4] See Section iii.

Art. VI—THE HOLY SEPULCHRE— ITS AUTHENTICITY AND IMPORTANCE

1. *Jerusalem from the Earliest Times to* A.D. 70. By Prof. G. A. Smith. (Hodder and Stoughton. 1908.)
2. *The Holy City.* By G. Williams. (1845.)
3. *The Story of Jerusalem.* By Sir C. M. Watson. (Dent. 1912.)
4. *Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statements* (various).
5. *Translations of Pilgrims' Accounts,* published by Palestine Pilgrims Text Society (various).
6. *Jerusalem Excavations.* By Sir Charles Warren. (P.E.F. 1884.)
7. *Excavations at Jerusalem* 1894–1897. By F. J. Bliss and A. C. Dickie. (P.E.F. 1898.)
8. *Archaeological Researches in Palestine.* By Prof. Clermont-Ganneau. (P.E.F. 1900.)
9. *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem.* By Col. C. R. Conder. (P.E.F. 1896.)
10. *The City of Jerusalem.* By Col. C. R. Conder. (Murray. 1909.)
11. *Holy Places of Jerusalem.* By Hayter Lewis. (1888.)
12. *Golgotha and the Holy Sepulchre.* By Sir Charles Wilson. Edited by Sir C. M. Watson. (P.E.F. 1906.)
13. *A Brief Description of the Holy Sepulchre, Jerusalem, and other Christian Churches in the Holy City; with some account of the mediaeval copies of the Holy Sepulchre surviving in Europe.* By George Jeffery. (Cambridge University Press. 1919.)

The controversy with reference to the authenticity of the site turns largely upon the question whether the present